New South

- Desegregation Resistance Slows Negro Vote
- Private School Plan Faces Problems
- A Chronology of Segregation Court Cases
- Highlights from Recent Literature

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Contents

Desegregation Resistance Slows Negro Registration . . . 3

Private School Plans Facing Many Problems 6

A Chronology of Principal Cases on Segregation 8

Highlights from Recent Literature 13

. . . Unquote 15

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New South Notes

A survey of Negro voter registration in the South was recently completed by the Southern Regional Council. Excerpts of the report as released to the press are reprinted in this issue of NEW SOUTH. The full report, written by Mrs. Margaret Price, may be obtained from Council.

The Council also recently released a report on the difficulties confronting the various private school plans being considered in the South to circumvent the Supreme Court decision against segregated schools. The news release of the pamphlet, "If the Schools Are Closed . . . A Critical Analysis of the Private School Plan," is included in this issue of NEW SOUTH. The full report, written by Warren Gauerke and Donald Ross Green, may be obtained from the Council.

Much discussion has taken place concerning the speed or the slowness of court action in the area of segregation. The Research Department of the Council has completed a chronological listing of the principal cases concerning segregation and their disposition by the courts. The listings, contained in a table with accompanying text, begin with a case concerning segregation in 1878 and continue to 1959 and a recent education decision concerning Nashville, Tennessee.

Rounding out this issue of NEW SOUTH is a new selection of "Highlights from Recent Literature." The selections this month include articles from the New York *Times Magazine* and *Harper's* and a pamphlet published by the Arkansas *Gazette.*

Desegregation Resistance Slows Negro Registration

Southern Regional Council News Release

The strained atmosphere created by resistance to school desegregation has slowed the pace of Negro voter registration in the South, the Southern Regional Council has reported.

Negroes in parts of the South now feel they run a greater risk in trying to register than at any time since the outlawing of the white primary in 1944.

However, the Council added, the long run prospect is for "a steady, if gradual, increase in Negro political participation — along with rising economic and social status."

These are conclusions drawn from the Council's latest survey of Negro suffrage. A full report on the survey entitled "The Negro and the Ballot in the South," by Margaret Price, is available from the Council.

The report contains county-by-county registration figures for seven states: Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia.

Since the Council last surveyed Negro voting in 1956, none of the 11 Southern states has eased its registration laws. Two states — Virginia and Georgia — tightened voting requirements. Five states retained the poll tax. Literacy tests which could be used to limit Negro registration remained in effect in seven.

During this period, purges of Negroes from voting rolls have been widespread in Louisiana. In some areas of the South Negroes trying to register were confronted with threats, slowdowns, evasions and outright refusals.

"The disturbed atmosphere in much of the South, created by resistance to school desegregation, clearly has retarded the normal growth of Negro suffrage. The fear and hostility generated by demagogues has dampened both Negro initiative and white acceptance of Negro political participation," the report says.

The Council found that many Negroes already registered have seen their vote shrink in importance as racists sought to make support by Negro citizens a liability rather than an asset.

In normal times, no serious office-

Registration

(Continued)

seeker will deliberately antagonize a sizable segment of voters. This has applied in the South in campaigns of recent years, particularly in cities, when an appeal was made to all voters, Negro as well as white.

However, the report continues: "In many parts of the region, emotionalism surrounding the segregation issue has led to a sharper division of voters along racial lines. Extremists in and out of public office have based their political appeals on racial fears and antagonisms. By accusing their opponents of 'wooing the Negro vote' or 'catering to the NAACP,' they have sought — with considerable success — to make support by Negro citizens a liability rather than an asset, because Negro support has proved in a number of instances insufficient to compensate for the resulting loss of white voters. Wherever this process has been effective, every Negro voter has seen his ballot artificially devalued.

Not Permanent

"This unhappy state of affairs is not likely to be permanent. If prior experience is any guide, no Southern electorate will remain indefinitely preoccupied with fear of change as the overriding issue in every political conflict. Whenever, soon or late, the segregation-desegregation controversy abates, other more vital issues will come to the fore, and the votes of Negro Southerners will weigh no less heavily than others in the political scales."

Meanwhile, Negroes of voting age in the South are being influenced by two distinct forces. On one side, said the report, are national trends. Congress has passed the first Civil Rights legislation since Reconstruction, setting up a Civil Rights Commission and creating a new Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department. Federal courts "have spoken with increasing frequency and clarity on the right of every American to legal equality and justice."

Racism Used

"On the other side," it continued, "stand local custom and resistance to change. In this camp is a vocal, sometimes violent and threatening group of whites. There are also many political candidates who use racism as a stepping-stone to public office. What these elements lack in national support is offset, at least temporarily, by the fact that they are on the scene. The threat of Main Street often can be more real than the hope of Washington."

Despite the barriers, the number of Negro registrants remained fairly constant in the South as a whole. In mid-1956, at the time of the earlier SRC survey, an estimated 1,238,038 Negroes were registered in the 11 Southern states. At the close of 1958, an estimated 1,303,827 were registered, a gain of 65,789. This apparent gain is somewhat misleading, however, largely because the 1956 estimate of Negro registrants in Tennessee proved low in light of later available information.

In the eight states where SRC was able to obtain reliable figures, the number of Negroes registered in 1958 totaled 1,028,827, as compared to 1,074,672 in 1956, a drop of 45,845.

These eight included Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina,

and Virginia, where registration figures all came from official sources. In North Carolina, a statewide estimate was made by the executive secretary of the State Election Board. In Texas, SRC sponsored a county-by-county check, the first of its kind in recent memory.

Of the remaining three states, the latest estimate for Tennessee came from a veteran Capitol reporter; for Mississippi, from observers in the state interested in Negro suffrage, and for Alabama, from an estimate made by the Attorney General of the State.

NEGRO REGISTRATION

	1956	*1958*
Alabama	53,366	70,000
Arkansas	69,677	64,023
Florida	148,703	144,810
Georgia	163,389	161,958
Louisiana	161,410	131,068
Mississippi	20,000	20,000
North Carolina	135,000	150,000
South Carolina	99,890	57,978
Tennessee	90,000	185,000
Texas	214,000	226,818
Virginia	82,603	92,172
	1,238,038	1,303,827

An estimated 25 per cent of the eligible Negroes were registered in the South as a whole in 1956, as compared to 60 per cent of the white citizens of voting age. The 1958 total represented about the same percentage, a little over 25 per cent of the Negroes of voting age.

However, the report pointed out, many areas of the South have a long way to go to achieve even a 25 per cent registration of Negroes. With some exceptions, Negroes generally continued to have the greatest difficulty in registering in the rural Black Belt counties where the ratio of Negroes to whites is highest.

SRC listed 29 counties in the South where no Negroes are registered. These include one county in Virginia; one in South Carolina; two in Georgia; three in Florida; two in Alabama; one in Tennessee; an estimated 15 in Mississippi; and four in Louisiana. The majority have populations over 50 per cent Negro.

But there are other counties in the South, the report said, where Negroes could register and vote in greater numbers. These are, for the most part, in urban areas — and there has been a continuing trend toward urbanization of the Negro population.

As for the future, the report said:

"In the long perspective, there is every reason to expect steady, if gradual, increase in Negro political participation—along with rising economic and social status. However, no abrupt or dramatic rise in the number of Negro registrants seems likely in the foreseeable future. It probably would be unrealistic to expect this in a time of widespread racial tension. Instead, the next big break-through in the field of suffrage may well be the revitalization of the existing Negro vote in the South."

The report also includes case studies of three Southern counties — one in the rural "black belt" of the Deep South where no Negroes are registered; a northern Louisiana parish, Ouachita, which experienced a wholesale purge of Negroes from voting lists; and a South Carolina coastal county, Beaufort.

The full report, THE NEGRO AND THE BALLOT IN THE SOUTH, may be obtained from the Southern Regional Council at 40 cents per single copy, 35 cents per copy for quantities of 50 or more.

Private School Plans Facing Many Problems

A doubled and possibly tripled cost per pupil will be only one of the many problems faced if the South converts its public schools to a private system in order to avoid desegregation.

So say two Atlanta educators in a report prepared for the Southern Regional Council and released recently by the Council.

The pamphlet, *If the Schools are Closed . . . A Critical Analysis of the Private School Plan,* was co-authored by Dr. Donald Ross Green, Assistant Professor of Teacher Education at Emory University; and Dr. Warren E. Gauerke, Associate Professor of Teacher Education at Emory.

The pamphlet is chiefly concerned with the proposal to close all public schools and set up a private school "system" by giving tuition grants to all school-age children. Provisions for such a "system" have been enacted into law by Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, and Virginia and are under consideration in several other states.

Although the authors seriously question the legality of such a proposal, they discuss the practical difficulties involved if such a system withstood legal tests.

For a private school to be legal and avoid entanglements because of "state action," the educators maintain that it must be free of all or almost all of the following elements:

(1) Compulsory attendance laws;
(2) State control of how grants are spent;
(3) State supervision of facilities, curricula, and personnel;
(4) Requirements for accreditation;
(5) Special services from the state;
(6) State assistance by means of textbooks, supplies, and equipment.

The educators point up the difference in current costs of private and public school education by comparing private and public school costs in the Atlanta area. The average yearly cost per pupil is more than twice as great in private schools ($625) as in public schools ($265).

In addition to this expectable increase, the authors maintain that added increased costs to the individual parent could be expected because of:

(1) The loss of federal funds.

(2) The possibility that sectarian school children would be made eligible for grants. (In Georgia, this would add 16,000 school children at a cost of $4,000,000).

(3) Cost of raising funds to purchase buildings and equipment and the increase costs of the construction of new buildings.

(4) The loss of tax revenue through the dislocation of industry. It is maintained that business leaders are reluc-

tant to locate in areas where there is a threat of closed schools.

(5) The loss of special services, which probably could not survive the switch to a private system. These include special education for atypical children; the textbook program and special library services; vocational education; adult education; the specially trained science supervisors; visiting teachers; the state and federal financing of graduate education in subject matter for public school teachers; the in-service teacher education program; the Teacher Recruitment Service; and the "very important guidance, counseling, and testing program recently greatly expanded."

(6) The deterioration of legal and supervisory control of expenditures.

(7) The loss of teachers during the change-over. Replacement with equally competent teachers "will require, in this day of rising salaries, higher pay than is currently offered."

"Unfortunately," the educators say, "the financial difficulties the tuition grant proposal creates are only the beginning of the tale."

Among the more serious practical obstacles, they list the deterioration of quality inherent in a private system over and above that caused by financial pressure. The educators say that "contrary to popular opinion, the public schools even now are doing a better job, on the average, than the private schools." They cite Princeton tests to back up this thesis.

A second obstacle would be the loss of variety in the programs offered. Private schools, the authors maintain, typically offer a single program suited to the needs of some children. Public schools programs are varied for college, vocational, and other types of students.

Then, too, private schools face a tough road in the matter of accreditation. The authors say that "the existence of state, regional, and national accrediting agencies is further demonstration of the need to control standards." Rigid requirements are set forth for accreditation, and it normally takes a year or more to obtain it even under the best of circumstances.

The professional help of state departments of education, now available to the public schools, could not be called upon to help untangle problems of school organization in the private schools, the authors point out. To do so would jeopardize the legal standing of the schools.

Even if the states closed public schools only as a temporary measure, the educators say, reopening the system would present "a host of practical concerns as well as problems more intangible in nature."

Serious deterioration of the idle school plants, economic waste due to the attrition of students during the period of "no-schools" and consequent small numbers of pupils enrolling in school plants which were designed to house much larger enrollments, re-organizing the school board and electing a superintendent, teacher personnel problems, and the re-establishing of transportation routes are only a few of the tangible problems cited.

The pamphlet, IF THE SCHOOLS ARE CLOSED . . . A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE PRIVATE SCHOOL PLAN, may be obtained from the Southern Regional Council at 25 cents per single copy.

A CHRONOLOGY OF PRINCIPAL

Year	*Public Schools*	*Higher Education*	*Housing*
1878			
1896			
1899	Cummings v. Bd. of Education (3)		
1908		Berea College v. Kentucky (4)	
1917			Buchanan v. Warley (5)
1926			Corrigan v. Buckley (6)
1927	Gong Lum v. Rice (8)		Harmon v. Tyler (7)
1930			Richmond v. Deans (9)
1935		University of Maryland v. Murray (10)	
1938		Missouri ex rel Gaines v. Canada (11)	
1945			
1946			
1948		Sipuel v. Board of Regents (14)	Shelley v. Kraemer (16) Hurd v. Hodge (17)
1950		Sweatt v. Painter (18) McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents (19) McCready v. Byrd (20)	
1953			Barrows v. Jackson (23)
1954	Brown v. Topeka, First Decision (24) Bolling v. Sharpe (25)		
1955	Brown v. Topeka, Second Decision (28)		
1956		Florida ex rel Hawkins v. Bd. of Control (33)	
1957			
1958	Cooper v. Aaron (36)		
1959	James v. Almond (37) Hamm v. County School Board of Arlington (38) Kelley v. Board of Education of the City of Nashville (39)		

CASES ON SEGREGATION

Transportation	*Public Accommodations*	*Private Facilities*
Hall v. DeCuir (1)		
Plessy v. Ferguson (2)		
		Kerr v. Enoch Pratt Free Library (12)
Morgan v. Virginia (13)		
Bob-Lo Excursion Co. v. Michigan (15)		
Henderson v. U.S. (21)		
		District of Columbia v. Thompson Co. (22)
	Muir v. Louisville Park Theatrical Assn. (26)	
NAACP v. St. Louis-San Francisco Railway Co. (31) Keys v. Carolina Coach Co. (32)	Holmes v. City of Atlanta (29) Dawson v. Baltimore (30)	Rice v. Sioux City Memorial Park Cemetery (27)
Browder v. Gayle (34)		
		In re Estate of Girard (35)

Chronology

(Continued)

The Research Department of the Southern Regional Council has prepared a listing of court cases which are the highlights of the long battle against segregation. The notes below give disposition of the cases involving segregation listed chronologically in the preceding table.

1. *Hall v. DeCuir,* 95 U.S. 485 (1878)
   Louisiana law which prohibited segregation of interstate passengers while in Louisiana ruled an unconstitutional burden on interstate commerce.
2. *Plessy v. Ferguson,* 163 U.S. 537 (1896)
   The leading case in this field and the whole area of segregation until *Brown v. Topeka* (1954). Upheld racial segregation by state law on intrastate railroads. Generally regarded as announcing the "separate but equal" doctrine.
3. *Cummings v. Board of Education,* 175 U.S. 528 (1899)
   Negro taxpayers in Richmond County (Georgia) were refused in their plea that the white high school be shut down until a Negro school, closed for purely economic reasons, was re-opened.
4. *Berea College v. Kentucky* 211 U.S. 45 (1908)
   Upheld a state law requiring that a private college with a bi-racial student body provide completely separate campuses for Negro and white instruction.
5. *Buchanan v. Warley,* 245 U.S. 60 (1917)
   Declared unconstitutional a Louisville ordinance which prohibited persons from occupying houses in a block in which the majority of houses were occupied by persons of the other race; i.e. prohibited residential zoning by race.
6. *Corrigan v. Buckley,* 271 U.S. 323 (1926)
   Refused to declare restrictive covenants on real estate to be unconstitutional.
7. *Harmon v. Tyler,* 273 U.S. 668 (1927)
   Declared unconstitutional a New Orleans ordinance which prohibited persons from occupying houses in a block, in which the majority of the houses were occupied by persons of the other race, without written consent of a majority of the residents.
8. *Gong Lum v. Rice,* 275 U.S. 78 (1927)
   Upheld power of state (Mississippi) to classify a Chinese child as colored, and thereby assign him to a Negro school.
9. *Richmond v. Deans,* 281 U.S. 704 (1930)
   Re-affirmed *Buchanan v. Warley* and *Harmon v. Tyler* cases: zoning by race is unconstitutional.
10. *University of Maryland v. Murray,* 169 Md. 478 (1935)
    In the first such case, the state law school was ordered by the highest state court to admit a Negro.
11. *Missouri ex rel Gaines v. Canada,* 305 U.S. 337 (1938)
    Established the principle that, if a state provides a law school for its white citizens, it must provide an

equally good one for its Negro citizens, or admit them to the white school; not sufficient to grant a scholarship for study out of state.

12. *Kerr v. Enoch Pratt Free Library*, 326 U.S. 721 (1945)
Non-admission of Negro students to a privately owned and operated library school in Baltimore, conducted on public property with public financial support, held to be a denial of constitutional rights.

13. *Morgan v. Virginia*, 328 U.S. 373 (1946)
States cannot burden interstate commerce by the segregation of interstate passengers on common carriers.

14. *Sipuel v. Board of Regents*, 332 U.S. 631 (1948)
Oklahoma was ordered to provide a legal education for the Negro applicant, and "as soon as" it does for any other applicant.

15. *Bob-Lo Excursion Co. v. Michigan*, 333 U.S. 28 (1948)
A Michigan law forbidding segregation on an excursion boat to an island in Canada was held not burdensome to foreign commerce, and therefore constitutional.

16. *Shelley v. Kraemer*, 334 U.S. 1 (1948)
The leading case in the field of housing. Forbade state courts from enforcing restrictive covenants.

17. *Hurd v. Hodge*, 334 U.S. 24 (1948)
Ruled that restrictive covenants in the District of Columbia were unenforceable.

18. *Sweatt v. Painter*, 339 U.S. 629 (1950)
The leading case in the field of higher education. In ordering the University of Texas Law School to admit the Negro applicant, even though Texas maintained a law school for Negroes, the Court in effect ruled that no separate law school could be an equal facility.

19. *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*, 339 U.S. 637 (1950)
University of Oklahoma Graduate School was ordered to end all segregated treatment of a Negro student; in effect, compulsory segregation *within* a school of higher education is illegal.

20. *McCready v. Byrd*, 73 Atl. 2d8 (Md., 1950)
University of Maryland nursing school was ordered by a state court to admit a Negro applicant despite the state's contract with the Southern Regional Education Board for Negro nursing education at Meharry Institute.

21. *Henderson v. United States*, 339 U.S. 816 (1950)
Held that the Interstate Commerce Act prohibits the segregation of dining cars by interstate railroads.

22. *District of Columbia v. Thompson Co.*, 346 U.S. 100 (1953)
An 1873 law, punishing discrimination in restaurants and other eating places in the District, was held to be valid and still in full force.

23. *Barrows v. Jackson*, 346 U.S. 249 (1953)
State court may not award damages for breach of a racially restrictive covenant to other covenanters against the one who has sold to a Negro.

24. *Brown v. Topeka*, First Decision, 347 U.S. 483 (1954)
The leading case in the field of

Chronology

(Continued)

public education, and the whole area of segregation generally. State compelled segregation of children in the public schools was held to be discriminatory, and therefore illegal. The decision applied specifically to Topeka, Kansas; Clarendon County, South Carolina; Prince Edward County, Virginia; and the state of Delaware.

25. *Bolling v. Sharpe*, 347 U.S. 497 (1954)
Segregation in the public schools of Washington, D. C. held unconstitutional.

26. *Muir v. Louisville Park Theatrical Association*, 347 U.S. 971 (1954)
A private theatrical association, leasing from the city an amphitheatre in a public park, may not refuse admission to Negroes.

27. *Rice v. Sioux City Memorial Park Cemetery*, 349 U.S. 70 (1955)
An equally divided Court refused to void racial restriction practices in cemetery burials.

28. *Brown v. Topeka*, Second Decision, 349 U.S. 294 (1955)
Implementation of the First Decision was delegated to the District Courts. A "prompt and reasonable start," and progress "with all deliberate speed" were required.

29. *Holmes v. City of Atlanta*, 350 U.S. 879 (1955)
Segregation of the public golf course by the city ruled illegal.

30. *Dawson v. Baltimore*, 350 U.S. 887 (1955)
Segregation of public beaches by the city ruled illegal.

31. *NAACP v. St. Louis-San Francisco Railway Co.*, ICC (Nov. 7, 1955)
On the authority of *Brown v. Topeka*, the Interstate Commerce Commission interpreted the Interstate Commerce Act to prohibit segregation of interstate passengers in trains and railroad stations.

32. *Keys v. Carolina Coach Co.*, ICC (Nov. 7, 1955)
In the same manner, the Commission prohibited segregation of interstate passengers on buses.

33. *Florida ex rel Hawkins v. Board of Control*, 350 U.S. 413 (1956)
The Second Decision in the *Brown* case has no application to graduate and professional schools, and Negro applicants are entitled to *immediate* admission, *not* "with all deliberate speed."

34. *Browder v. Gayle*, 352 U.S. 903 (1956)
State law requiring segregation on Montgomery (Alabama) buses ruled unconstitutional.

35. *In re Estate of Girard*, 353 U.S. 230 (1957)
A city cannot exclude Negroes from a school (Girard College) operated by it as trustee of a private estate.

36. *Cooper v. Aaron*, 358 U.S. 1 (1958)
Constitutional rights of a Negro child to enter a desegregated school cannot be set aside because of violence or disorder. *Brown v. Topeka* is the supreme law of the land," and binding on every state executive, legislator, or judge.

37. *James v. Almond*, 170 F Supp. 342 (1959)
A state (Virginia) cannot close some public schools solely to pre-

vent desegregation, and keep open other public schools throughout the state on a segregated basis.

38. *Hamm v. County School Board or Arlington*, 264 F 2d 945 (1959)
A Negro applicant for transfer to another school than the one attended may not be subjected to different tests than a white applicant for transfer from one school to another.

39. *Kelley v. Board of Education of the City of Nashville*, USCA, 6th Cir. (June 17, 1959)
While approving the Nashville gradual desegregation plan, ruled unconstitutional on its face a Tennessee statute authorizing localities to establish separate schools for Negro and white children whose parents voluntarily elect that their children attend segregated schools.

Highlights from Recent Literature

New South summarizes recently published periodical, pamphlet, and book length material of interest to its readers. These synopses liberally paraphrase and condense the statements of the authors, although direct quotations are used whenever economy permits.

Dykeman, Wilma, and Stokely, James. NEW SOUTHERNER: THE MIDDLE-CLASS NEGRO. *New York Times* Magazine, August 9, 1959, p. 11.

A successful assault has been launched in the South against the white man's persistent image of the Negro as the eternal hewer of wood and drawer of water. The Negro is creating a middle class. Its rise has great meaning for the whole nation.

As the Southern Negro comes closer to entering the total pattern of American life, he also becomes more aware of those educational and economic opportunities essential to securing and maintaining position in the middle class. His status is still low—but it is changing for the better; it is the combination of these two facts that provides part of the dynamic behind the Negro protest.

Paradoxically, the rise of the Negro middle class may be both a step back and a leap forward in race relations. (The first shock of whites encountering the Negro middle class means, quite often, a temporary setback in racial harmony. Adjustment ranges from bitter denial and reprisal to quiet acceptance.) The presence of a strong Negro middle class will prove, in the long run, necessary in establishing sound relationships between the races.

As these trends accelerate, perhaps the South will begin to realize how much all of its people have lost by keeping one segment of its people from developing a strong middle class long before this. All of the South stands to gain today by improving the productive capacity and increasing the purchasing power of those Negroes who are potentially part of a middle-class bulwark.

* * *

Zinn, Howard. A FATE WORSE THAN INTEGRATION. *Harper's*, August, 1959, pp. 53-56.

Highlights

(Continued)

White Southerners are not in effect for segregation when it means losing something they value even more than the separation of the races. In their unconscious hierarchy of values, segregation does not hold the highest rank. White Southerners are overwhelmingly for segregation if the question is put to them in isolation, but real-life decisions are more like multiple-choice tests than true-or-false quizzes. Here are some examples of the values which white Southerners may consider more precious than continued segregation:

The most obvious is money—the simple drive to make a profit. Another key value is the importance Americans attach to their sports. Other values more treasured in the South than segregation: social peace, or "law and order;" the traditional Southern qualities of hospitality, courtliness, and good manners; political power (which, with the increase in Negro voting, may soon depend more on concessions to the Negro than on demagoguery).

Now, to many Southern parents, the education of their children is beginning to seem more important than the maintenance of segregation. It is possible that we have come to a turning point in the evolution of the integration controversy. Up to this point, integration has proceeded successfully in a good many instances supported by *unconscious* preferences of the segregationists. From here on, as we face the last entrenched fortresses of Deep South resistance, the values which take precedence over segregation can be exploited consciously in order to bring about racial equality as quickly and painlessly as possible. (The Eisenhower Administration moved in this direction when it chose to hold back temporarily and wait for the effects of school closure on popular opinion in Little Rock, Norfolk, and Arlington.)

* * *

Arkansas *Gazette*. CRISIS IN THE SOUTH—THE LITTLE ROCK STORY. Pamphlet, available from Editorial Reprints, Arkansas Gazette, Little Rock, Arkansas. Single copy, $1.00. 104 pp., 1959.

A collection of *Gazette* editorials representing the newspaper's application of one basic thesis to the unfolding events in the great national crisis in Little Rock, in 1957, 1958, and 1959. That thesis: "The complex social problems left in the wake of the Supreme Court's desegregation decisions must be resolved under law; any effort to defy or subvert the rulings of the courts can only result in sustained disorder and lasting harm to all the people of Arkansas."

The editorials begin with September 1, 1957, *A Time of Testing* ("We are confident that the citizens of Little Rock will demonstrate on Tuesday for the world to see that we are a law-abiding people.") and end with *The Air is Clearer Today* ... on May 27, 1959, following the special school board election ("A majority chose to stand behind honorable men who have courageously attempted to do their hard duty.") Brief narratives connect sections, and a detailed chronology of events forms an appendix. The bulk of the editorials were written by Harry S. Ashmore, others by Gerry Neil.

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

. . . Unquote

"I do, there's no doubt about that [when asked if he thought Governor Faubus had handled the desegregation decision wrong]."

Senator J. William Fullbright
of Arkansas
Quoted by *Arkansas Garzette*

* * *

"Because of integration disputes, Southern students lost 1.9 million days of schooling last year. That is the count of Arthur S. Flemming, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. The educations of 16,300 teen-agers in Arkansas and Virginia were interrupted. Of these, 1,800 students got no schooling at all, he said, and most of the rest got only substitute instruction that 'in most instances was inadequate.' "

From *U.S. News and World Report*

* * *

"What I wonder is, why do those of us who feel that integration is right, inevitable and feasible, huddle so quietly over our dinner tables, our veranda conversations and our coffee breaks, while those who would destroy our schools holler so loud from here to Washington."

Margaret Long
Atlanta Journal Columnist

"But the Prince Edward action [of closing public schools] does insure one thing in the Old Dominion in the coming months—a clear-cut comparison between communities willing to preserve public education, as a majority of the state's Parent-Teacher Association districts have urged, and those who prefer officially condoned mass ignorance (if only temporarily) to any degree of compliance with school-desegregation rulings."

From an Editorial
in the *Louisville Courier-Journal*

* * *

"Though bitterness, resentment, confusion and honest doubt lie heavy upon vast numbers of Southerners, surely today there is greater realization in heart and mind—if not publicly expressed—that the Constitution of the United States cannot mean one thing to one American and another to another."

From an Editorial
in the *Chattanooga Times*

* * *

". . . most Southerners are agreed it is folly to try to resolve integration issues with shuttered public schools."

Label A. Katz
New Orleans attorney
Speaking to B'nai B'rith Women
Quoted in *Washington Post*